1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

LOCATION AND HISTORICAL SKETCH

THIS volume describes the culture of an Apachean-speaking tribe of the American Southwest as it existed during the youth of the older informants from whom data were collected. The Chiricahua were already horsemen and possessed their first firearms, but tribal life had not yet been disrupted by hostilities with the Americans.

The territory which they controlled during this period was extensive and is not easy to define accurately. They ranged through southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and the northern parts of the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. The Rio Grande acted as the eastern boundary. Occasional journeys and raids brought them as far north as the pueblo outposts of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi, but ordinarily they did not stray much farther north than the present site of Quemado, New Mexico. The western limits of their country can be roughly indicated, from north to south, by the present towns of Spur Lake, Luna, Reserve, and Glenwood in New Mexico, and by Duncan, Wilcox, Johnson, Benson, Elgin, and Parker Canyon in Arizona. To the south an undetermined area in northern Mexico was also under their control.

The Chiricahua bands were three in number. The most eastern and northern band, whose territories joined those of the Mescalero Apache at the Rio Grande, controlled almost all the Chiricahua territory west of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and has been given a number of names throughout the literature. Those occurring most frequently are Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apache, Coppermine Apache, Mimbreños Apache, and Mogollones Apache. The Chiricahua name for this band is *Ětténè*, "Red Paint People." In historic times this band has been led by Mangus Colorado, Victorio, Nana, and Loco. From historical records and the accounts of informants, the local groups and camp sites of the members of this band can be traced to the

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175 619 [62] [131] [101] Datil Range, the vicinity of Rito, Hot Springs, Cuchillo, and the Black, the Mimbres, the Mogollon, the Pinos Altos, Victoria, and Florida mountain ranges. For convenience I have called the Red Paint People the Eastern Chiricahua band.

619 101 [131] To the south and west of the Red Paint People, ranging through the portion of southwestern New Mexico west of the Continental Divide and through southeastern Arizona, a second Chiricahua band, called *čo·k'ánéⁿ*, whose name does not yield to linguistic analysis, was to be found. This is the band to which the term "Chiricahua" was first applied. It was this band, often [622] called in the literature "Cochise" Apache after their leader, Cochise, which held Apache Pass, and with which the government had a great deal of trouble during the Indian Wars. The [131] most famous of the strongholds of this band, which I have named the Central Chiricahua band, were the Dragoon Mountains, the Chiricahua Mountains, and the Dos Cabezas Mountains.

The third and southernmost band of the Chiricahua, called in the native tongue, *ⁿdé'i·ⁿdá·t*, "Enemy People," stayed almost entirely in what is now Old Mexico. I shall refer to this group as the Southern Chiricahua band. During the last half of the [648] nineteenth century difficulties with the Mexican soldiery drove them north, where they speedily came into conflict with settlers [622] and United States government forces. After that they were harried from either side of the border until Geronimo's surrender in 1886. Geronimo himself was born a member of this band. Mention of this tribal subdivision in the literature is made under the names of Southern Chiricahua and Pinery Apache. Reference in the literature may be found to their leader, Hǫ́· whose name has been variously written as Who, Whoa, or Juh. The [131] Sierra Madre and the Hatchet Mountains were familiar landmarks of this band.

175 648 657 With the appearance in numbers of white settlers, the affairs of the tribe took an unhappy turn. About 1870 the Ojo Caliente Reserve in western New Mexico was established for the Eastern Chiricahua band. In 1872 similar provision was made for the Central Chiricahua and the Southern Chiricahua. Because part of their range lay in Old Mexico, it was particularly difficult to

[Text continues on p. 4]

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has to be made if the family is to live near "friends." All that can be said is that residence in one place rather than in another may be determined by the presence there of a family with which friendly connections have been established through marriage.

The presence of his own kin in the same local group where he lives with his affinities assures the newly married man of the perpetuation of a good many past ties, as an understanding of the relations between the extended family and the local group suggests.

The local group is a cluster of encampments in one general locality. It is a division of the larger group, the band. The people in it all camp around some well-known spot from which the local group gets its name. Those who camp around Mora Mountain are called "People of Mora Mountain." This refers to all the people living together in this region. But within the local group there would be other divisions. All would not live at one place. Some would camp on one side of the mountain, some would camp on the other. Others might camp at any favorable spot near water. These smaller groups or camps are decided along relationship lines. That is, all the relatives and those who marry into a certain family live together.

These smaller units, the extended families, are referred to by means of the leading men in them. Thus, we speak of N.'s encampment, C.'s encampment. The local group is not a relationship group strictly, but the extended family does consist of relatives. If a person asks, "Who are you? To what people do you belong?" you give the name of your band. But if someone asks where you live, you say that you are one of a certain local group.

The local group tie is essentially one of residence and may be severed summarily:

The children are usually members of the local group to which the mother belongs, because a man is supposed to live near and work for his wife's people. When a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his direct affiliation with the first local group is over. He is now related by marriage to people in the second local group. But he has relatives in the first one, and in case of trouble or divorce he would go back there.

Further characteristics of the local group are summarized in this explanation:

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on a raid or engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too.

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about seven in the bunch. They had stolen horses from the Pima Indians around Tucson. The Pimas told the missionary there, and he wrote to Washington. Soldiers came and took these men prisoners. They chained them and took them to San Carlos. Then they took all the Eastern Chiricahua band there. Those seven men were taken in wagons. We all had to come with horses.

Despite the peaceful relations and frequent social contacts between the bands, there is no political synthesis and scarcely any formal recognition of the tribe as such. There is no distinct tribal name. The word which serves to identify tribesmen also differentiates all Apachean-speaking peoples from others and is now used by the Chiricahua to distinguish Indians in general from Europeans and other non-Indian populations. Moreover, there is no organized leadership for the entire tribe; and no instances have been found where the three bands acted in concert to carry war to others, to repel invasion, or for any other purpose. The tribe is too widely scattered over its extensive, varied, and difficult terrain for united action. While individuals and families can cross band borders and be received as tribesmen, a concourse of the entire population is not practical.

The band, however, does achieve the political consciousness that the tribe lacks. It possesses a distinct name which has no other meaning. It is guided by a recognized leader (occasionally by more than one), assisted by a number of subordinates. The opportunities for interaction are much greater for members of the various local groups which comprise a band than for members of different bands. As this indicates, the band is a division of the tribe based on territory, including within its borders those local groups near enough together to unite for military action if the need arises or to co-operate for any important social occasion. The nature of the local group and that of the extended family have already been discussed.[1]

This segmentation of the society into social units graded in size and scope of activities implies a pyramiding of responsibility and leadership. It is the men who formally assume posts of authority, though "women attend councils and may speak if they have anything to say." The married man acts as the head of his

[1] See pp. 18–19 and 24–25.

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Western Apache (Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto, White Mountain or Coyotero, Cibecue, and San Carlos Apache), and the Navaho. The dialects of the Chiricahua and Mescalero are usually close—closer, in all probability, than the dialects of any two other Southern Athabaskan tribes.

Ethnic ties point in the same direction. With due allowance for individual tribal variations and the influence of adjoining culture areas, there emerges a basic core of mythology, belief, and social organization common and peculiar to these Southern Athabaskans. In this respect the Mescalero and Chiricahua are again found to be most closely associated. In fact, the evidence of language, custom, and geographical location strongly suggests that these two tribes represent a late differentiation of a parent stock.

LOCATION

The land which the Mescalero claim was theirs in aboriginal times lay principally in what is now New Mexico. The eastern limit of their recognized territory was the flat country to the east of Hondo, but expeditions for salt, or to hunt antelope and buffalo often took them far beyond this point and many times east of the Pecos. Occasionally they wandered as far north as Santa Fe. On the south their range extended into northwestern Texas and into northern Chihuahua and Coahuila, Old Mexico. The Rio Grande was their western boundary. The favorite Mescalero haunts were to be found in the San Andreas, Sacramento, and Guadalupe mountain ranges. Places within this central mountainous area are the ones most frequently mentioned in the old stories, and from this section hunting expeditions and raiding and war parties would start out for the more remote parts of Mescalero territory.

The Chiricahua ranged through western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and southward into Old Mexico. Their eastern boundary began at the Rio Grande. They ranged westward approximately to the eastern boundaries of the present White Mountain and San Carlos Indian reser-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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vations. The territory they claimed reached the Pueblo district of Laguna and Acoma to the north, and on the south their lands extended into Chihuahua and Sonora, Old Mexico.

BAND AND LOCAL GROUP

The Mescalero were divided into two bands. One was called "Edge of the Mountains People." The members of this band stayed most often in the vicinity of the Sacramento and Sierra Blanca mountain ranges. The second band stayed farther to the east and the smaller offshoots of it, which we may term local groups, often camped on the flats in times of peace and so gave the name of "Plains People" to the band. These two Mescalero bands were one in language and customs and, though each had separate leaders, recognized themselves as a single people.

The Chiricahua bands were three in number. The eastern band, whose territories joined those of the Mescalero at the Rio Grande, controlled the territory of southwestern New Mexico and has been given a variety of names throughout the literature. Those occurring most frequently are Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apache, Coppermine Apache, Mimbreños, and Mogollones Apache. The native name for this band is *tcihene*, which probably means "Red Paint People." In historic times this band was led by the well-known chieftain, Victorio.

To the south and west of the "Red Paint People," ranging through a portion of southwestern New Mexico and through southeastern Arizona, a second Chiricahua band, the *tcokanene*, was to be found. The derivation of the native term is uncertain. It was this band, often called in the literature Cochise Apaches after their leader, Cochise, which controlled Apache Pass and with which the government had a great deal of trouble during the Indian wars. It was this band, too, which was instrumental in giving the name Chiricahua to the whole tribe. One local division or local group of this band had as its main refuge the rocky indentations along a mountain range called by the Apache *tseyata*, "Rock Pocket."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
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Pocket." They were, therefore, called "Rock Pocket People." The Spanish name for this mountain range is the Chiricahua Mountains. At first the name Chiricahua was applied only to the Indians ranging in the vicinity of these mountains. When hostilities began, however, and the three bands were considered a common enemy, the name was used indiscriminately of all the hostiles. The name is now so well known and established that it has been thought best to retain it for the entire tribe.

The third and southernmost band of the Chiricahua was called "Enemy People." They stayed almost entirely in what is now Old Mexico; their territory embraced parts of northern Sonora and Chihuahua. Geronimo, whose name figures so largely in the accounts of the Indian wars of the Southwest, was born a member of this band.

It must not be thought that all the members of one band lived together or in close proximity. These bands were further divided into smaller units. Each, under the guidance of a man of some importance, chose as its base some natural fortification or landmark, was known by the name of that place, and, therefore, can be spoken of as a local group. Thus a group of Apaches of the *tcihene* or Warm Springs band consistently camped near a mountain called "Nokane Mountain." This group became known as the "Nokane Mountain People."

The nucleus of the local group was a body of relatives, the relatives of the leader. Friends who had faith in the leader's sagacity might also attach themselves to his following, new male members entered through marriage with women of the group, and in last analysis membership in the local group was determined by residence. Despite their importance, these local groups were fluid and unstable bodies. Loss of faith in the leader, death of a leader at a time when no other member could command the respect of the following, misfortune or widespread illness during residence at the favorite site, could all prove instrumental in the breaking up of the local group and the scattering of its membership.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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619 621 101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

[224] [342] [492] [415] [531]

291 184 [177] [302] An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

[302]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

101 [484] These Apache were a highly mobile group and their geographical background is, therefore, not so well understood as is that of sedentary tribes. Also in the early days of Spanish penetration they were known by various names and confused with other groups. In view of these circumstances it is impracticable to try to fully describe their geographical setting; hence, only a few examples of this aspect of their environment will be presented.

133 137 The territory through which they ranged constituted a rich variety topographically and climatically, ranging from the flat lowlands of the Southwest, such as the Tularosa Basin, where sagebrush *(Artemisia filifolia)*, creosote bush, Mormon tea, cacti, yuccas, and mesquite comprise the characteristic vegetation; through the low hills where mescal and sotol abound; the foothills of the mountains where one-seeded juniper, piñon, and three-leaved sumac grow in abundance; to the higher elevations covered by growths of western yellow pine, spruce, and aspen. The mild, sunny winters and devastatingly hot summers of the lowlands contrasted greatly with the severe, snow-ridden winters of the mountains, although the mountains were cool and invigorating during other seasons of the year. The fauna varied with the elevation, too. In the flats were the prairie dogs, rabbits, and antelope; in the mountains, deer, elk, and mountain sheep.

132 133 136 133

221 [182] [222] Of all this variety the Apache was the master. He moved with the seasonal change of weather, and followed the wild food harvests as they occurred. His adaptation and response to the ecological region in which he lived was sensitive and complete. When the colder weather came he removed to a lower altitude; in summer he was in the highlands again. When the mesquite and screwbean ripened on the flats, parties of Apache were there to gather them; when the hawthorn hips were ready in the highlands, Apache were nearby to take them. These people knew nature's calendar by heart, and no matter whether a grass seed ripened or a

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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The Sacramento Mountains, lying east of the southern part of the Tularosa Basin, form about fifty miles of its mountain wall and consist essentially of a great plateau rising in places to a height of more than nine thousand feet, descending gently eastward toward the Pecos Valley. On the west, however, it breaks off abruptly. The canyons are steep and short. Because the crest of the mountain is near the west side of the range, most of the drainage is eastward toward the Pecos River; only a narrow belt of the area sends its waters toward the west *(14:*26).

The dominant vegetation of these first two mountain ranges, utilized by the Mescalero Apache, is piñon pine, one-seeded juniper, and western yellow pine. In the third range mentioned, the Guadalupe Mountains, are to be found the important mescal and sotol in abundance. On Meinzer and Hare's *(14:*194) map showing zones of native vegetation, in a portion of the Tularosa Basin, mesquite is a dominant plant, and it will be seen later that both the mesquite and yucca of this basin constituted important sources of food for these Indians.

Sulphur Spring Valley, together with the rest of that part of Arizona which lies south of the Gila, was purchased from Mexico in 1853 and until about 1873 was occupied exclusively by the Chiricahua Apache. The trough occupied by Sulphur Spring and Arivaipa Valleys is bordered by two parallel mountain chains which extend from the Gila River to Mexico. Included in the east chain are the Chiricahua Mountains, the largest in the region, which formerly constituted a favorite dwelling place of the Chiricahua Apache. In fact, the name Chiricahua was at first applied only to the Indians ranging in the vicinity of these mountains. These mountains extend southward from Apache Pass about thirty miles to the head of the San Bernadino drainage, twenty miles north of the Mexican boundary. The range is massive and in the northern portion rugged, although to the south, where it is wider and more massive, the crest line is remarkably even and a considerable portion of it more than nine thousand feet above sea